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AUTHOR Burns, Robin
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ABSTRACT

The evolution of development studies as a formal academic teaching and research endeavor is traced. "Development" is related here to "decolonialization." Attention is directed to: the sociopolitical and economic aspects of the society; the cultural (educational and historical) aspects or frameworks within which particular contents are generated and transmitted; and the international aspects. The range and variety of development studies currently being undertaken in Western Europe, North America, and Australia are examined, along with the factors that affect the legitimation of development studies. Development during the colonial period, which centered on the nature of society and the study of nonwestern society, and post-colonial period are examined. The turning point in the diversification of development theories in particular occurred in the early 1970s, and this encompassed among other factors the following: institutional support for education in developing countries, training of students from developing countries in their homeland; and the training of people from developed countries for work in developing ones. Changes in development research, the teaching of development issues, and findings from a survey regarding development studies in 15 countries are considered. Sociopolitical and economic factors relevant to the legitimation of development studies include: domestic policy, the economy, party politics, welfare policies, the research and development mode, worldview, foreign policy, and development assistance programs. Cultural/educational factors include: administration, relationships with lower educational levels, teaching and research, the nature and structure of the content of studies. International factors include science as an international effort and the role of international agencies in shaping development thought and practice. (SW)

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DEVELOPMENT STUDIES: A CASE FOR NEW LEGITIMATIONS OF THE SOCIAL ROLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION?

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Dr. Robin Burns
School of Education
La Trobe University
Bundoora, Vic. 3083
AUSTRALIA

Development studies have been appearing in recent decades in higher education throughout the world, and recent years have seen the regular opening of new institutes, research centres and courses. Yet it has not been without a struggle that such studies have become part of the academic enterprise. It is the main argument of this paper that in the ways in which this struggle has been depicted and resolved, many of the emerging and changing problems and definitions of the social rôle of higher education can be seen. It is further argued that central to this whole process is the question of the legitimation of knowledge: of the ways in which particular selections are made from the social stock, including the specialist/academic stock, of knowledge in a certain socio-political and economic culture, for incorporation into the teaching and research activities of higher educational institutions. In turn, the analysis of this selection process throws light on the knowledge-generating process and its applications to social problem-solving, in itself a part of the issue of legitimate authority, conflict and power in society.

If the problem of the legitimation of educational knowledge can be considered to be sited at the interface between society and culture, then it is necessary to examine the factors, both social and cultural, which contribute to the processes of knowledge generation, selection and transmission. In terms of the area of knowledge under consideration here, development studies, this examination therefore involves the tracing of three broad sets of factors:

1. The socio-political and economic aspects of the society in which development studies take place, which influence the availability of and the content and processes in those studies.

2. The cultural, used here in the sense of the educational and historical aspects, that is, the frameworks within which particular contents are generated and transmitted by a range of processes.

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3. The international aspect, which cuts across both the social and cultural within a particular nation, although at the same time it is modified by both. Research in particular can be considered to be an activity which transcends national boundaries yet researchers as citizens at least belong to and work within a bounded system.

In this paper, I shall first show the range and variety of development studies currently being undertaken in Western Europe, North America and Australia, and then examine the effects of the above sets of factors on the processes of the legitimation of development studies.

I. The development of development studies

"Development" is not a new process, though the terminology in current use seems to be co-extensive with decolonisation, thus replacing older concepts of "civilisation" and "progress". The definition of the term development itself continues to be elusive, and whether one examines the academic theories of development, mostly couched within the methodology of a particular discipline, or the underlying assumptions and actions of practitioners in variously-conceived development plans and projects, it becomes apparent that beyond the quantitative indicators and specific goals lie not only different concepts and methods but perspectives and ideologies as well.

For those concerned with social change, and in particular the eradication of those problems of poverty and misery associated with under-development, reflection on the niceties of differing theories and approaches may seem an academic luxury, even although they themselves become caught in the questions of choice of means to bring about the goals as they define them. It has been said, too, that: "Development thinking within the social sciences is largely a product of the west. It is as such an outsider's view of our development, specially by outsiders from countries who colonised us."[1] Such a cultural-imperialistic viewpoint raises two separate but inter-related issues. The first is an epistemological question, which can be seen to focus around the nature of the development theories, their data bases in particular types of society, and their generalisability to other types of society. Thus, whether it was social philosophy, economics or history which provided the methodological and conceptual framework, it was the epistemological paradigms in those disciplines in European societies that gave rise to, and continue to influence, the ways in which development is

defined and studied, and those societies were the models for development. The second issue is a normative question, centring around the application of theory to social steering and the extent to which not only the concepts but the values inherent in the theories of development reflect those of the societies in which they have been articulated, yet have been implicitly accepted as universal norms and imposed in the development programmes of the Third World.

These issues will be taken up in a later section. They are raised here as a basis for examining the development of development studies, since it is maintained that the confusion between epistemological and normative questions, and the differing paradigms of both development theory and development practice, have provided the bases for a range of activities in higher educational institutions where development is studied. These approaches and activities are competing for legitimacy, and while variety is important, the dominance of a particular paradigm often precludes others, regardless of the academic or social merits of the latter.

Some aspects of development studies have a long history and the colonial period at its height provides at least a convenient category for looking at the precursors to present studies.

1. The colonial period

Taking social change and differentiation as the broad area, higher educational institutions were involved in such study in two main ways:

(i) Within traditional and newly emerging disciplines, as part of the subject-matter for research and teaching. Here two foci can be discerned. The first is the study of and/or speculation about the nature of society, through such disciplines as philosophy and later economics, political science and anthropology. The second is the study of non-western society, often undertaken from a comparative perspective, and until the second half of the nineteenth century engaged in, almost nolens-volens, by scholars who would today be classified into disciplines as diverse as history, geography, literature, law, linguistics, religious studies, even botany. A further aspect of non-western studies in the nineteenth century, also defying disciplinary classification, was the appearance of area studies such as Orientalism, African and Latin American Studies.

The subject, society, was thus either an aspect of the teaching and research in a particular discipline (usually confined to western society) or a separate subject, often indulged in by scholarly travellers (non-western society). The problems of colonial administration and the opportunities for firsthand experience of non-western societies, changing under the impact of that administration, began to alter the teaching of and research into these issues, in the direction of a more practical application. It is maintained however that an explicitly curious, non-applied study of society has always been one paradigm, however illusory the value-free nature of that study, and continues to exist today.

(ii) For the training of people to work in the colonies. In some cases overlapping with academic studies of society, in others through the establishment of separate courses or even institutes, the study of non-western societies, including their languages and customs, began to assume importance for the training of colonial officers in the late nineteenth century.[2] Later still, usually just before independence, special courses were tailored for people from the developing countries.

It can at least be hypothesised that the study of non-western societies, regardless of the disciplinary base, and research into the problems of practical administration, stimulated academic involvement in these precursors of development studies in those nations that were colonial powers, as well as feeding back into those institutions administrators-turned-scholars, with field experience. The subsequent development of social anthropology in particular bears out this relationship between the legitimation of teaching and research into social, especially non-western societal, areas and the existence of political imperatives in and easily-accessible experiences of non-western societies.[3] Norway, where ethnological research has a history as long as that in colonising countries, is an interesting exception, which also provides some clues to much later re-definitions of the subject-matter of ethnology, for the Sami ethnic minority was included in Norwegian research. Why this was not so in Sweden, given both the existence of larger numbers of Sami people and the experience from the early twentieth century onwards of Swedish missionaries in Africa, presents a further puzzle.

This dual pattern of social research and teaching continued, with diversification of the disciplinary bases, into the mid-twentieth century.

2. The post-colonial period

With the closing of the colonial era, new patterns emerged, and although this period can probably be subdivided, with a turning point in the diversification of development theories in particular in the early 1970s, it will be dealt with here as a whole. A fivefold pattern can be discerned in the inter-relationships between higher education and development studies:

(i) institutional support for education in developing countries;[4]
(ii) the training of students from developing countries in educational institutions and through special programs in the developed countries;
(iii) the training of people from developed countries for work in developing ones;
(iv) the undertaking of research for the solution of specific development problems in developing countries, usually on contract to government as part of its foreign aid program, or through secondment to an international agency or government or research institute in a developing country;
(v) the provision of courses which deal in some way with issues of development as part of or options within academic courses at various levels.

Reasons for this expansion and diversification can be seen in the three sets of factors outlined previously, viz government policy, the changing nature of higher education and movement in the international community including the development focus of the United Nations. Thus, the increasing demand for those with ever-higher qualifications and the expansion of areas of knowledge, together with an international rhetoric centring around the notion of the harnessing of the university for the benefit of the Third World, led in the 1960s in particular to increasing study of development. At least two, not always inter-related, strands can be discerned in this expansion:

(i) Changes in development research. The notion of academic freedom has not entirely disappeared, and it is still possible to undertake some forms of research into development for personal curiosity or individual motives. However, governments in both developed and developing countries, and inter-governmental and non-governmental agencies, have increasingly posed the problems and provided the finance for research into development, overwhelmingly for the "solution" of development problems in the Third World, and even where national development in a developed country is

considered, this is kept separate from considerations of development in the Third World.

(ii) The teaching of development issues. Teaching about development obviously cannot be entirely separated from research, although there is considerable national variation in the extent to which development research is undertaken in non-teaching, specialised institutions. However, with the exception of courses for the training of people to work in developing countries (and even here the integration of such courses into general tertiary degree and diploma studies varies from country to country and institution to institution), the study of development has not shown an expansion commensurate with that in the research field. Government policy concerning the financing of institutional development, and hence the limitations on student intake, new course development and the like,[5] the employability of graduates from development studies courses, the nature and scope of these courses in terms of both content and methodology, and the respectiability especially of newer approaches to development studies in the eyes of the academic establishment, contribute to the problems of legitimising these studies.

In a survey of research and teaching which was defined by the researchers and teachers as being concerned in some way with issues of development, undertaken in 1974-8 in 15 countries,[6] the following variables were investigated:

(a) the place of the studies in the overall organisational and academic structure of the institution in question;

(b) the disciplines involved;

(c) the extent to which the studies are inter-disciplinary in approach;

(d) whether the study centre is primarily teaching or research oriented;

(e) the level at which teaching takes place (undergraduate versus post-graduate);

(f) whether it is an option or core course;

(g) numbers of years' study available (e.g. ½ unit, year, full degree, only post-graduate);

(h) subject-matter in terms of focus on general or specific geographical area studies;

(i) integration of development studies into other programmes of the institution;

(j) the backgrounds and experience of staff and students involved;

(k) nature of credits gained and forms of assessment;

(l) extent to which practical experience is an integral part of the courses, the nature of this and the preparation of individuals for it;

(m) involvement (if any) of people outside the institution e.g. from voluntary agencies, in either running or participating in the course;

(n) the balance between problem-solving, especially practical questions in underdeveloped areas, and "pure" research/ theoretical issues;

(o) the respective emphases given to developing countries alone, national development at home and the inter-relationships between these;

(p) the history of introduction and change of such studies within a particular institution and the nature of opposition encountered to its introduction/change;

(q) sources of funds for teaching and research;

(r) type of teaching;

(s) contact with other countries for programme implementation including institutional links with a developing country, student exchange, staff exchanges and fellowships for appointment from developing countries, fieldwork provisions;

(t) government of the studies.[7]

These can be contracted into five main dimensions of variation between the programmes, institutions and activities, relating to the external and internal contextual variables that have been hypothesised to affect the legitimation of educational knowledge at a particular institutional and national level. These dimensions are:

(a) the aims and scope of the program;

(b) resources both of people and money including contact with other institutions and groups nationally and internationally;

(c) level of activity: undergraduate (first degree or diploma), post-graduate, research;

(d) type of activity: teaching, research, specialised training, extension and documentation work, action-oriented teaching and/or research;

(e) methods of approach, assessment and evaluation.

Based on initial results, ten different approaches to the subject were discerned and these were confirmed in subsequent expansion of the geographical scope of the study:

1. The traditional, single-discipline undergraduate programme
2. The traditional graduate programme
3. The undergraduate programme with practical requirements
4. The fieldwork based graduate programme
5. The study-service programme
6. The research/action programme
7. The manpower-training programme
8. The internationalised institution
9. The specialised research institute
10. The community education programme[8]

Some indication of the distribution of programmes between these approaches is found in Table I. Only the data from the 1974 survey is included, since later contacts focussed on whole departments or institutions rather than on specific programmes and insufficient information was obtained for more detailed analysis of programmes within the departments. Only token figures are included for the first programme since this is the most popular way in which development studies were undertaken and the sample size was too small to make presentation of figures meaningful. In some instances programmes appear in more than one classification, especially where options of choice are available to students which fit into several types of programme.

Table I

Numbers of programs of each type examined in the 1974 survey, classified by country

Country	Type of Program									
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
France	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-
FRG	1	1	-	2	-	-	2	-	2	1
Netherlands	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	-
Sweden	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
UK	2	-	1	3	-	-	1	-	2	2
Canada	1	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	4
USA	1	2	1	4	1	2	3	1	3	1
Australia	3	1	-	3	-	1	2	-	-	-
Totals	11	6	3	16	1	6	10	1	10	8

Even allowing for the non-representativeness of several types of programme included, it can be seen that universities in particular are involved in development studies as part of undergraduate teaching, and that both research towards higher degrees which involves practical fieldwork and independent research in specialised institutes, form significant parts of development research activities. Manpower training for developing countries also forms an important activity of universities. It is suggested that the figures for community programmes are inflated by the large proportion of the Canadian sample which included community resource centres in their activities, and the existence of public seminar and lecture programmes in the regular activities of specialised research institutes.

The most obvious conclusion to be drawn is that the involvement of individuals, agencies and institutions in teaching and learning for, and active participation in, development, varies immensely. This variability stems from the concept of development on which the particular programme is based, and the perceived means to undertake activity to promote that concept of development. Since an attempt was made in the survey to discover the variety of approaches to development studies within higher education within each country examined, it is not possible to give more than highly generalised impressions of the different emphases within and between each country. Only the USA is involved in all ten varieties of development studies; research is more heavily emphasised than teaching in the FRG whereas, despite the wide representation of all types of activity in the USA a heavy concentration has in fact taken place on traditional undergraduate programmes. In the UK, France, the USA, the Netherlands, Canada and Australia, manpower training is a well-established activity (despite the lack of such programmes included in the survey of the Netherlands), whereas Sweden has consciously steered away from such activities and, until the recent internationalisation programme, concentrated on research. Action-oriented approaches are rare, though they have appeared in Australia, Canada, France, the Netherlands, the UK and the USA (the best established is the Third World Centre at the University of Nijmegen).

Comparison with other surveys

A 1974 study of the contribution of British universities to development concluded:

> We can now say that higher education is in a unique position in modern society to analyse and to criticise, to make concern for and involvement in the solution of poverty acceptable, prestigious and more natural. We can also say that this is scarcely being done, that not only is higher education squandering a golden opportunity to enhance its standing and to capitalise on its special position in society, but that its failure to tackle this most pressing of global problems is not far short of scandalous.[9]

It is maintained that, despite the increase in institutions, centres and courses at least nominally dealing with some aspect of development, this statement still holds true for the countries studied. This is borne out when other surveys are examined comparatively (Table II).[10] There are enormous problems in drawing inferences from such comparison. None of the surveys was comprehensive, each used its own definition of development (including international studies in the Ford Foundation survey), the OECD reports only include government-sponsored research and post-graduate training, and there is variation in the levels and years surveyed both within and between surveys. Significantly, none of the surveys deals with teaching not associated with training for work in developing countries. But perhaps the most noteworthy feature when comparing the surveys is the enormous variation in actual instances recorded for a particular country, reflecting the definitional problem and perhaps suggesting fluctuations in a particular country over time. For example, the OECD survey indicated 131 research projects for Sweden in the early 1970s; in 1976 20 were recorded by the Ford Foundation study, while in 1977 55 were listed by EADI. And yet, in 1975 the Swedish government established a co-ordinating institution, SAREC, and in a survey they undertook in 1977, covering research institutes, university institutions and departments, 280 projects were identified.[11] It is possible that the fluctuating and interdependent interests of financers and researchers, together with the difficulties of undertaking surveys of this nature, especially by outsiders, can give rise to such different national results. The differences, however, are as likely to reflect the interest base of the surveyors, in itself underlining the elusive nature of development studies.

The wide range of definitions of development studies can be seen in the concept of development education. This has been based on Paulo Freire's conscientisation approach to learning about social reality and applied predominantly in non-formal educational settings. Some extensions of the work have been attempted in higher education, the underlying ideology and methodology of conscientisation being seen

Table II Comparison of numbers of research projects and institutes with training and research programs in international and development studies in the OECD, EADI, and Ford Foundations Surveys with supplementary information for Australia* and Canada**

Country	OECD Surveys		EADI Surveys		Ford Survey	Burns Survey	
	Research	Training and research	Research institutes	Research projects	Research projects and institutes	Research	Training
Austria	25	2	3	21		2	
Belgium		5	10	18		1	
Denmark	12	1	1	15		1	2
Finland	20		4	1			2
France		19		44	78		17
FRG	37	19		54	116	1	4
Greece		2		12			
Hungary		2					
Ireland				34			1
Italy		7	4	7	14		
Netherlands	18	5	45	97	28		9
Norway		1	1	41			
Poland		1	5	13			
Portugal		1	1	18			
Spain		1					
Sweden	131	4	15	55	20	2	9
Switzerland		2	1			1	
Turkey			1				
UK	68	23	1	215	66	3	10
USSR		1					
Yugoslavia		4	1	5			
Canada	52	4	(plus 48**)				
USA	364	21					17
Australia	(1570)*	(96)*					50
Japan	46						

* Hughes Report; Education News 15(9), 1976
** Walmsley Report.

in courses like Women's and Black Studies, experiments in action-research, and some work with national minority groups.

In formal higher education there has been a move in the last five years to bring at least some of the insights of the radical critics of traditional, especially economic, development theories, and of education, to bear both on the content of development studies (broadening the base to include developed countries and North-South interactions) and to the definitions of and theories about development.[12] Such work is also increasingly inter or multi disciplinary. It would be interesting to hypothesise that development education has influenced development teaching and research in higher education.[13] It is more likely that there are common threads in development education for conscientisation and some trends in development studies. Since, however, the locus of the latter is in formal institutions, the nature and directions in development studies need to be looked at within the framework of the legitimation of educational knowledge, as the interplay between social and cultural interests, nationally and internationally. The specific approaches to development embodied by development education will only become legitimate within formal institutions under specific conditions, a process in itself which at least one commentator has considered to be the "kiss of death" since formal legitimation may be considered in most instances antithetical to the process, if not also the content, of development education.

II. The legitimation question

Returning to the three sets of factors considered basic for analysis of the legitimation of particular approaches to knowledge in higher education, it should be pointed out that this research was based on extended case studies, undertaken in the framework of participant observation, in Australia and Sweden.

1. Socio-political and economic factors

Recognising that the distinction between processes within a nation external to the educational system, and those largely internal to that system, is semi-artificial, it can however be asserted that the nature and extent of the inter-relationships vary between nations. "External" factors can themselves be separated into the domestic and foreign policy fields, since the former affects general educational policies, such as the amount and direction/levels of educational financing

and its channelling into certain areas of study, and the latter is especially relevant to development studies insofar as these are restricted basically to studies of the Third World.

(i) Domestic policy. Five broad areas are considered to have relevant effects on the extent and types of development studies within a nation. These are:

(a) The economy, which affects both the availability of finance for research and teaching in general, and the state of the labour market and hence the pressures and choices confronting prospective students and graduates. The ideological aspects of a particular type of political economy will also influence, through socialsiation and as a background factor in the sanctioning of particular types of courses and research, the theoretical models for development research in vogue, at least in government-financed programmes and projects.

(b) Party politics. This is a self-evident factor, especially if it is accepted that, insofar as finance of higher education is a public task, the interplay of dominance and subordination amongst interest groups in the struggle for power is also a struggle for influence over education.[14] Further, the importance assigned to education, philosophically, ideologically and practically, in social steering, is also bound up with party politics, and the stability and/or openness to change in higher education and research is affected by the party in power and the length of time it has held power. This is particularly evident in Sweden, where 44 years of Social Democratic rule, in whose ideology and practice education has played a strong part, enabled a series of investigations into and reforms of all levels of education, which were systematically implemented and evaluated, including an "internationalisation" of education programme.

(c) Welfare policies. These have relevance both for the models provided through basic socialisation and experienced, for example, by foreign students, and also for the types of institution available for training and for use in aid programmes abroad.

(d) The research and development "apparatus", including the types of technological and industrial development, the locus of research in these fields, the mobility of people between the public and private sectors, including international agencies and educational institutions, and the main types of finance and methods of financing. The ways in which research

and development is undertaken and incorporated into public policy-making in particular provides both the basis for and control of research in educational institutions,[15] as well as models for development at home and abroad.

(e) Worldview. In this especially complex area of human social life, such variables as the models of man, society and social change are formed and transmitted. The homogeneity/heterogeneity of worldviews within a nation, the social-structural base for the dominant worldview and the means by which it is maintained, provide keys to the normative aspects of life within a nation and the range of alternatives, including the extent to which the intelligentsia play a valued and active, passive, critical or fringe rôle in that. The views of a people about their own development and their extension of this to others, as well as the degree of openness to change, constitute the broad framework within which particular types of development research and teaching about society take place. The legitimation of a particular worldview is the outcome of the struggle for power and domination: examination of a world view and its locus and orientations socially and temporally are clues to the operation of power and interest in a society.

(ii) Foreign policy. A background factor to present foreign policy, especially regarding non-western societies, is whether or not the nation in question was a colonial power, and the types of post-colonial ties with the former colonies. This has a rôle in the amount and nature of experience of non-western societies, and the nation's participation in bilateral and multilateral development assistance programmes. Other relevant aspects of foreign policy include:

(a) Alignments (if any), which provide the structure for diplomatic effort, for mutual influence and for channelling of interests and "assistance". For example, as a non-aligned nation, Sweden defines her rôle in world affairs as seeking, together with other like-minded nations, to promote similar values and policies; Australia, on the other hand, is politically and geographically aligned. In each case, both diplomacy in general (including trade and armaments diplomacy) and development assistance in particular, are selectively oriented to certain countries and types of programmes, with fairly obvious results for development studies especially when finance for higher education is decreasing.

(b) Position in the world. This refers to whether the nation can be defined as a "centre" or a "periphery" one, and the geographical and ideological group in which it is either a centre or periphery. Both the general worldview

and spheres of mutual interest, as well as the specific content of both, will be affected and, it is maintained, will have repercussions which reach into the content of development studies.

(c) Development assistance programmes. The nature of this assistance and its geo-political location again has obvious repercussions for publicly-financed development studies in particular, and for certain inputs of ideas and experience, as well as the outcomes in developing countries. That the factors set out here are interdependent, the forms and directions of these inter-relations varying between nations and over time, is also obvious, and can be seen in relief in the formation of development assistance policy, its nature and volume, and the use of scholars and higher educational institutions in its formulation and implementation.

The foregoing thus presents some suggested variables and processes which form the background within which teaching and research in higher education takes place, and views about one's own and others' development are formed and transmitted. Together, they form the framework within which directions for development studies are set; the extent of their legitimating influence varies with time and place and it is an empirical question to determine the degree to which variables can be specified and used predictively for future directions in development studies.

2. Cultural-educational factors

Education, whether formal or informal, is the means by which the new generation is socialised into the practices and values of a society and the culture of that society is transmitted. Philosophical debate in western societies concerning the definition of socially valued knowledge and the social rôle and relevance of formal education goes back at least to the time of Plato, and the significant social philosophers have continued to provide models of man and priorities in knowledge from which ideal-typical education, especially higher educational institutions, can be deduced.[16]

Formal education, like other social institutions, operates in practice within a legitimating framework in greater or lesser conformity to that framework. For higher education, a significant aspect of the framework is the degree of segmentation from, or integration with, the society of which the institutions are a part.[17] The determining factors in the degree of integration/segmentation seem today at least to lie outside the institutions, insofar as the host society finances the

institutions and socially and economically rewards their products. Of the many ideas about knowledge and man on which a particular institutional form could be based, it is the legitimated selection of these by those holding power in society that act as a set of national "constraining devices" on the institutions and what takes place within them.[18]

The various traditions concerning the nature and function of higher education, including the input from within the institutions, are components of institutional development and change. In examining the system variables in that process, and the contribution of those variables to the range and nature of the institutions at any point in time, the following aspects need to be taken into account in attempting to answer the questions how is new knowledge generated and how is it incorporated into the teaching and research programmes?

(i) Administration. This is both the administration of a particular institution, the relationships between professional administrators, academics and students in the decision-making processes, and the carrying out of those decisions, as well as the structure of administration of the higher educational system as a whole within a nation. Such features as the democratisation in this context (usually interpreted as the admission of sub-professorial staff to certain committees and positions like dean and departmental chairman and of students to some/all institutional committees) which was the catchcry in the past decade, and the various ways in which and degree to which universities and other post-secondary institutions have become administratively inter-related, affect the funding and the operation of the institutions. Certain rivalries are also created for funds and students, leading to a variety of formulae for course development and attempts to convince employers and students of the social relevance of the offerings.

(ii) Relationships with lower educational levels

The schools are the providers of the clients for the upper educational levels, and the universities have played an important rôle in legitimating at least the curricula for those students hoping to gain university entrance. In terms of knowledge-relationships, the influence of universities and other tertiary institutions on schools, through legitimating certain types of knowledge and providing teachers for the schools, has been strong, the degree of strength depending to some extent on demographic and economic conditions. On the other hand, the

schools provide the foundations on which higher education builds, and to some extent at least the rising educational expectations and post-compulsory school retentivity rates, as well as the perceptions of students concerning the preferred type of higher education and the content of that education, have been used by governments, administrators and some academics (in different ways and for different purposes) in implementing higher educational change. It can be hypothesised, for example, that new subjects, interdisciplinary topic and area studies in schools have, together with willing and able academics, led to the introduction of such courses in higher education in the past decade. The particular outcomes, in terms of the availability and respectability of such courses, their popularity and the employability of the graduates, result from the interplay of the struggle for dominance and assertion of different interest groups.

Taking an actual example, Asian Studies received financial support in Australia in the early 1970s, as the result of business pressure to train graduates for commerce in the Asian area. Student travel, NGO involvement with the countries there, the Vietnam War, Britain's entry to the Common Market and so on provided a demand among employers and students, and business pressure was willingly accepted at government level since trade and foreign relations with Asia were high on its priority list. From the mid seventies, however, the increasing dissatisfaction, problems and pressures from migrant groups, together with political change, led to an outcry for multicultural education. The Asian Studies grant ran out in 1978, at a time when major multicultural education grants began to be available, and the Asian Studies Association is fighting hard to maintain, let alone expand, its slice of the educational cake, both of resources and teaching.[19] One factor in the acceptance of multicultural programmes was the perceived knowledge and educational priorities in schools with high numbers of non-English-speaking students and the apparent irrelevance of educational content dealing with "other cultures". Research into multiculturalism, and the Teaching of English as a Second Language and community languages, have increased under the provision of the special grants, though little impact conceptually or practically has been made in the whole field of "teaching multiculturalism". Both humanitarian concern with the situation of migrants, and the filtering up into tertiary institutions of first generation migrant students have assisted this discussion of multiculturalism, while development and Third World area studies seem to be declining or at best static: what is rarely heard is the possibility of common frameworks for ethnic/multicultural and development studies. Further, the effort even in the multicultural field is uneven and often tenuous. While political pressures, finance, student

needs/demands and so on have been factors in the partial legitimation of certain types of ethnic and multicultural studies, the organisation of education into separate state systems and the still-emerging changes in the administration of higher education, mean an uneven and largely unsystematic development in this as in most other fields. Sharp contrasts can be made with Sweden where it is argued that the internationalisation of education programme there was enabled by the strong central direction in all education and the presence of a model and philosophy for politically-initiated and research-guided change in curriculum. The forms and outcomes of the internationalisation programme are determined in a manner predictable from knowledge of the Swedish educational system as whole.[20]

(iii) Teaching and Research

The relative emphases given to each of these functions of higher education, in terms of institutional arrangements, funding and people, is the outcome of the traditions in the institution/system in question and current sanctions for change both within and without the educational system.

(a) Teaching. Nations vary in the traditional approach to teaching at the tertiary level,[21] in the status of teaching versus research, the rewards for each and the emphasis on general education or professional/vocational training, which lead to different patterns of institutional development, from the "multiversity" to the specialised institute. There are further differences between sciences (used in the more limited Anglo-Saxon connotation), where in undergraduate work in particular mass lectures, programmed courses, in general a passive induction into the contents and methods of the subject and an "apprenticeship" approach to post-graduate work, are the norm, and the humanities/social sciences, where greater experimentation with teaching methods including small-group work and field experience, even action-research, has taken place.[22] The individualisation of post-graduate study and the availability/requirement of coursework varies with national traditions, although there seems at least to be an increasing trend towards coursework. Content imposes some limitations on pedagogical variation, and the nature of the decision-making processes regarding content, workloads and distribution of teaching across the various levels of staff is in some instances a departmental matter, in others an institutional or even a national-system one.

In the present generally steady state of higher education in most fields in most western nations, trends towards quotas, minimal enrolments for course viability, competitive course advertising, tailoring of courses to perceived areas of student need ("warm bodies on seats" policies as a first defence against staff dismissals), increased teaching loads and the inability of young (and often more innovative) academics to obtain positions, as well as more general pressures to find and hold students and to "publish or perish", present new controls on the teaching function. There are also inbuilt contradictions in these processes, both between traditional ideas of the university and its contemporary reality, and between pressures currently acting on departments, courses and institutions. In such an atmosphere, where the introduction of new courses and maintenance of others is subject more and more to public scrutiny, and where the competitiveness for academic jobs tends to lead to conflictual or privatised approaches by individuals, there is both pressure to provide courses which potential students and employers consider currently relevant, to hold these students, and hence theoretically to increase new, relevant and well-taught offerings, but also for individuals to do as little teaching or put as little effort into it as possible, either because the rewards (even in terms of personal job satisfaction) are negligible or the opportunities to do what one would really like are increasingly limited. Students also seem to see their study in increasingly financial-instrumental terms, being more demanding and often less exploratory in their approach to study (in many instances under equivalent pressures to those affecting academics). There is not only a threat to the much-vaunted autonomy of higher education, but a taking of responsibility for the basic framework of teaching out of the hands of academics.

The brief post-1968 period of active student involvement in these affairs seems dead and buried, except insofar as students can be pitted against teachers to threaten the latters' jobs.

It is maintained that, in the light of the foregoing, the future of development studies depends more on outside funding and demand, for maintenance and expansion, than on availability of qualified teachers and scientific-humanitarian rather than political justifications for the studies. Students' interest in taking such studies, especially if the subject-matter remains basically Third World oriented, is becoming more closely tied to job opportunities: even the political demands of the early 1970s, for studies of "trouble spots" and controversies, seem subdued to the struggle for jobs. In a steady or shrinking educational budget, courses are

increasingly tied to short-term, extra-educational, political and economic interests and legitimations, in which so-called national interests predominate.

(b) Research. Similar factors operate in this sphere. It is difficult to stop an individual undertaking research according to his/her inclinations so long as no money is required and no impingement on teaching or other institutional functions takes place. However, job maintenance and promotion criteria, whether these are applied at the departmental/faculty, institutional or system levels, provide brakes and incentives which effectively direct research in certain ways. Factors such as national policy regarding the rôle of research as a whole in national public life, support for basic theoretical in addition to applied research, the direction of finance into certain areas and away from others, the methods for distribution of funds and even the amount of time available for research as well as alternative funding sources are variables affecting the type and content of research, as well as its quality. Most of these variables are the outcome of both external and internal educational-institutional processes. A further set of variables which are internal concern the rôle of the academic hierarchy in rewarding or even simply enabling certain sorts of research to take place. Again, it is hard to stop an individual from thinking and inquiring, but it is possible to cut off funds, deny facilities or job security, denigrate findings and make publication of research difficult.

Most areas of research are subject to such strictures. Insofar as development research at least requires fieldwork in its applied forms (which is increasingly expensive), and insofar as research on developing countries or limitation of research in the national arena to certain government-sponsored areas, is financially determined, development studies are particularly vulnerable today. This vulnerability is not necessarily in terms of their disappearance, but of increasing channelling in particular directions and legitimation of these definitions of the subject at the expense of others.

(iii) The nature and structure of the content

This is a complex consideration, which includes a strong element of national tradition in the way in which the subjects are distributed between institutions as well as the administrative, teaching and research organisation within them, the "state of the art" in terms of the paradigmatic dominance and range of permitted variation in theory and methodology within

the whole knowledge-generation process, and the nature and degree of variability and innovation. While the adherence to a certain range of academic disciplines and the definition of acceptable theory and practice within any one, will be considered in the section on extra-national factors, hierarchies and the power structure amongst professionals within a nation impose certain characteristics there despite what is happening in the subject elsewhere.

A new set of pressures might be coming into play with the decreased mobility of scholars, at least in terms of new teaching jobs and leave provisions, which may build up in turn towards increased rigidity and control within a nation. Again, development studies could be particularly vulnerable: while no "general practice" exists, the possibility to innovate, especially through the development of inter/multi-disciplinary topic/ area studies, which has been discernible, depends at least in the teaching area, on course approval, availability and willingness of staff, and student demand. And while the trend in that complex, amorphous area, "development theory", has been increasingly towards the recognition of the many-facetted nature of development and its international character, the linking of development research to aid programmes and hence largely to technical problem-solving within certain conceptual frameworks, and the mutual exclusiveness theoretically as well as practically in paradigmatic as well as in institutional-operational terms, of national and Third World inquiry, runs counter to this trend. This is, as Dudley Seers pointed out, an ideological conditioning of the nature of development studies by considerations neither intrinsic to the knowledge-seeking process nor to the immense requirements in human-social terms of mobilisation of men and women of knowledge in the processes of development.[23]

A "development perspective" or a "development content" can be tacked on to almost every existing field of human inquiry. How it is done, especially the extent to which new theories and new methods can be invented in the process, is vital to the types of knowledge about development generated and transmitted. Who determines this, and the limitations imposed, represent not only a reflection of the operation of power in a particular society and its educational institutions, but an ideologically-based interference in the processes of knowledge gaining and sharing. There are many people who see development as the greatest challenge facing humanity today. What they can do about it, and how they do it within higher education, represents a selection which may de-legitimise those very efforts which would prove most fruitful.

3. International factors

Two main areas are considered in this category: science as an international endeavour, and the rôle of international agencies in shaping development thought and practice.

(i) The international community of scholars. In today's world of specialisation and expertise, this concept exists at best as an ideal, although within a defined area, it is largely our own linguistic skills and time which limit our access to the ideas of others. Further, since the notions of the value-neutrality of science and of the socially unattached intelligentsia have at least been seriously challenged, a range of personal and sectional interests (with the nation providing a significant boundary within which these interests operate) also limit and condition the pursuit of knowledge. Yet another limiting factor is the fragmentation into disciplines which may deepen one area but preclude contact between areas.

One useful way of examining the legitimation of knowledge across national boundaries is in terms of the metascientific paradigms within which theorising takes place. While Kuhn's analysis of scientific revolutions presents more questions than answers about the nature of paradigms and paradigm change, it does suggest that, in combination with research into the rôle of interests in the formulation of knowledge, there is a political sociology of knowledge nationally and internationally. The work of Radnitzky, Habermas, Strasser, Merton and others is highly relevant in discerning the nature of this political sociology and the science-society interactions.[24]

If scholars within a particular discipline/field can in any way be considered a community,[25] then inquiry into the nature of that community, its politics and socialisation processes, including the values espoused and transmitted, will reveal some of the factors in the determination of legitimate knowledge. The structure, membership and operation of professional associations, control of journals, acceptance of conference papers and the like, indicate not only the power and interest base of a subject but affect the legitimation of individual research and specific research trends. National conditions within a discipline can be seen to be intervening variables between the individual and his/her subject in the world. Koestler's novel The Call Girls may raise a rueful laugh, but most of us know at first hand that recognition of our ideas does not necessarily come from their quality alone, and we have institutional, national and international hurdles to jump, the success of which may

indeed depend on who we are or know and how we present what we know. And this in turn affects and is affected by the paradigms within the subject at a particular time.

Internationally, development studies present particular problems and prospects. I have argued elsewhere[26] that there seem to be sets of parallel paradigms affecting the types of development studies being undertaken: the metascientific (according to which the nature of the research and the different types of theories which are generated, are determined), the developmental (which provide the definition of appropriate subject matter) and the educational (giving rise to different conceptions of the process of the transmission of ideas and the structure within which that takes place). Further, the discipline base gives further directions/ limitations, and national factors affect the extent and nature of the legitimation of development studies in higher educational institutions.

Two sets of additional factors remain to be examined. Firstly, extra-national contacts and influences of a scholarly nature, which roughly correspond to the foregoing analysis of the international community of scholars, play a rôle in supporting and even providing ideas which may be unpopular within a national framework. In the field of development studies, an important example of such cross-national thinking is in core-periphery analysis, which provides frameworks which take both development within a nation, its position as a core or periphery nation and the effects on development of the core-periphery interactions, as central to the understanding of development. Secondly, contacts with scholars in developing countries, who have seriously challenged the colonial/nec-colonial bias in western development studies, have broadened the nature of these studies. They also question both theoretically and normatively the nature and effects of development studies, especially their use in problem solving in developing countries and the dominance of particular development research paradigms even for scholarly research in developing countries.

(ii) The international development rhetoric and effort

It has not been from the academics but from the politicians of all ideological shades, and the practitioners, that the post-colonial call to marshall human resources for development has been issued. That this has been seen firstly in economic aid terms, and within a basically industrial-capitalist "transplant" framework, is an outcome of colonisation and neo-colonialism and as such has favoured economic models and selective use of

technical experts. The results, especially the disillusionment with the first United Nations Development Decade and the UNCTAD rounds of negotiations, have challenged development models and the hegemony of western definitions of these, broadened the disciplinary base of development work and, especially through the aforementioned contributions of developing country academics and the experiences of some developed country ones working outside the dominant academic and institutional paradigms, have led to new theoretical and methodological approaches. These include research into the operations of transnational corporations; new concepts of the research process; perceptions of development as a global phenomenon in which the lifestyles in rich countries as well as their policies affect resource distribution while "underdevelopment" is also created in the periphery within a rich nation, and criticism of the UN system and its fads such as the New International Economic Order as well as its selective use of academic experts and authorities in its basically government-to-government methods of operation. The interaction of academics and voluntary groups has played a rôle, both nationally and internationally, in developing and supporting these ideas and providing an action outlet for academics so inclined, while at the same time providing new methods for the formation and operation of potentially opinion-moulding and pressure groups on government and educational institutions.

The international machinery grinds on, and the tenor of that, especially the interface between science, technology and development, disappointingly legitimated in a limited form by UNCSTD last year, shows little real variation from élitist, western models. It is from the non-governmental organisations, especially those whose experience is at the grass roots, and which can see at least that development is a challenge to élite, non-participatory programmes and systems of effort (despite the economic success of certain developmentalist-repressive regimes) that, hand-in-hand with some academics working within new theoretical, methodological and ideological frameworks, approaches to development can be forged. The input from liberation theology and contemporary theories of dependency provide additional stimuli to new development thought. New ideas and working methods are also being forged in non-institutional, non-governmental organisations like the Bariloche Foundation, the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and the World Order Models Project, where practitioners as well as academics work together and are trying to break out of concepts of development "out there" through ideas and programmes of change in all countries where the development of people through aware, participatory, reflective action in which expertise becomes the servant,

not the ideological master, is of central concern. The extent to which these groups influence development thought within the community of scholars and the practice of development studies within disciplinary and national situations, depends on the interests of the controllers and users of higher education and their openness to change. The existence of such new groupings however at least challenges existing legitimations of development studies.

III. Conclusion

The foregoing is a detailed attempt to trace the development of development studies as a formal academic teaching and research endeavour. The national external and internal educational factors as well as the international ones which contribute to the legitimation of present development studies are being challenged scientifically and ideologically, and the challenge includes the rôle of a scientised ideology in legitimating political practice. Yet there are strong pressures and interests involved in the maintenance of present models and paradigms. As Seers points out, the "kernel of development studies will surely become the concentration of economic and political power, and the consequent creation of poverty, both absolute and relative, wherever this occurs", which will lead academics into "deeper historical, as well as broader geographical, analysis than has been customary in our field so far. It means investigating the origins of the present world structure, especially the creation and dissolution of the colonial system ... and drawing on all parts of the world for case studies in teaching as well as research in [making] obsolete, at least in academic work, the professionally dubious distinction between 'developed' and 'developing' countries, the models and the emulators ... There are strongly entrenched vested interests against this change of emphasis ... It will therefore take quite some time for development studies to escape from their traditional boundaries."[27]

It is not just a political question for such changes to take place, but also a theoretical-paradigmatic one, including the recognition that personal authority and social pressure affect and often distort in usually unrecognised ways basic scientific values concerning the conduct of inquiry. As Turner points out in the case of Orientalism:

> The criticism of Orientalism in its various forms requires something more than the valid but indecisive notion that at its worst Orientalist scholarship was a rather thin disguise for attitudes of moral or racial superiority (Asad, 1973) and thereby a justification for colonialism.

> What is needed is something other than the objection that some Orientalists were less than neutral and objective, or that they retired from the real world of Middle East politics to the Ivory Tower ... The end of Orientalism requires a fundamental attack on the theoretical and epistemological roots of Orientalist scholarship ... [it] also requires the end of certain forms of Marxist thought and the creation of a new type of analysis."[28]

The knowledge of the ways in which the legitimation of new forms and processes of knowledge generation takes place, within a specialist area, a nation and an institution, and the effects of the socio-political definitions of the function, especially the social function, of higher education, are relevant factors in bringing about such changes in the theory and methodology of development teaching and research. The will of academics to do so, and the barriers, both professional and political must be considered.[29] There are signs of the emergence of a critical paradigm, emphasising a model of man as active seeker after knowledge who, through reflection and action, is able to participate in the process of history. This implies change in all levels in society, since institutions are inter-related and it is unlikely that changing education would fundamentally affect society in the direction of emancipation envisaged by the critical paradigm without parallel, and probably prior, changes in social decision-making and legitimating ideologies.

Through the articulation of the metascientific paradigms and the admission of the normative as well as theoretical aspects of the knowledge-seeking process, and through the recognition that a particular paradigm for knowledge in social, cultural and political life is applied through education, the implications of the legitimation of a particular paradigm can be discerned. This discernment may be a matter of intellectual interest or a formula for action. The critical refinement of a paradigm based on a worldview of a liberated society in which development and education play complementary roles, is needed in order to free development studies from their present political restrictions and misuses. It can be predicted that insofar as other paradigms retain their legitimacy, developmental and educational practice will not be greatly changed. Critics will contribute to a sense of crisis, through the awakening of the critical consciousness of people, that will begin to challenge present legitimations and provide alternatives for practice. The formation of new development studies and their articulation with and into a critical knowledge paradigm, together with attempts to translate the ideas into practice, present a case study of the legitimation of educational knowledge and through it, of the legitimation of theory and praxis in society, not merely for social and cultural reproduction but for new futures.

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